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436 is to say, even those peasants marketing in the capital had not accepted the use of currency in 1850. Nevertheless some levels of the society must have been using the gursu (M.T. dollars) for some time, since Denham remarks that strips of cloth used for currency could be purchased in Bornu for forty to the M.T. dollar in the 1820's.(1) The market scenes observed by both Barth and earlier by Denham in the 19th century differ only slightly from those observed anywhere in Bornu today.

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721 As far as can be inferred from available sources, warfare and slave raiding made the life of the common people one of uneasy tension. Being the serf of one chief might not prevent a nearby potentate from sending out a raiding party which might easily clear out an entire local area of its inhabitants. The criterion which directed slave raiding only upon pagans was often honoured in the breach, especially if a chief's debts were [701] pressing. Again local life was often broken up by the feudal service in war which peasants owed to their chiefs. We are told in the history of Bornu of armies of thousands and campaigns which were waged annually year [182] after year for generations. In discussing this point, Denham felt that warfare resulted in a very mobile society where fortunes rose and fell rapidly and life as an intrinsic value was not highly regarded.(2) People in towns and villages, he says, are often mercilessly attacked and plundered. Accounts tell how the inhabitants, in attempting to fly, were
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727 caught by their attackers, whereupon, in most instances, the men were killed and the women and children lashed together and taken as slaves. Military men and their followers often died in droves on campaigns, widowing all their wives and concubines at one blow.

In response to this constant warfare, villages in danger would

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton; op. cit. p. 54
(2) Ibid; p. 135

647 662 people higher up in the N.A. organization. It might also be achieved by using factional membership if this membership group was powerful enough.

647 [557] Advancement in the N.A. is a combination of education, and diplomatic skill at Kanuri interpersonal relations, plus the status of one's agnatic group in the factional segments of the state. Western education, unless it is of a University caliber, is not enough, especially when those higher up in the N.A. are often less well educated than some of the personnel lower down who have come through an expanded educational program that was not available to many of the older generation.

On the surface, the N.A. looks like a western civil service. There are offices, typewriters, clerks, officials, expense 647 vouchers, memoranda, telephones, employee organizations, etc. However, 571 within the N.A. it is soon observed that Kanuri patterns of association are still highly determinative of the methods of behaving. "Big men" in the N.A. have their large extended household organizations of followers and kinsmen, and establishment of loyalty and subservience to superiors in the N.A. itself through the granting of socio-economic rewards still operates. This is why N.A. officials stationed in the Districts are unstable elements in the District organization of the BH. Their loyalties must be towards their department organization or [641] they may find themselves in trouble. Finally it should be understood that the idea of loyalty to an ideal of public service, rather than to particular individuals is a foreign concept that has no place in traditional Kanuri society and its norms of conduct.

Discipline in the N.A. reflects the operation of Kanuri

665 ernment, which means that several Kanuri have been Ministers in the Federal cabinet. Several days a week public meetings are held in various parts of Maiduguri under the green flag of the N.P.C. Followers of the "big men" make long speeches to the assembled crowds, while political leaders, N.A. officials, the DH of Maiduguri, and several Lawans from the main segments of the city sit on chairs near the center of activities, often nodding their approval. Sometimes, although not often, these leaders speak themselves. However, it is more in keeping with Kanuri culture that the actual work, the talking, which in this case is usually a loud harangue against the opposition party, should be done by followers and professionals who specialize in such speeches.

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641 The overall effect of an N.P.C. meeting is one of traditional and constituted authority. The N.A. officials and the traditional leaders always appear to support the movement. Thus a vote against this party not only means that a different party is being supported, it means that the person is turning against the traditional political structure of the society, and by inference the moral order which holds it together. This last point is particularly evident in the political speeches of N.P.C. The listeners are constantly and almost entirely confronted not with a political platform, but with a moral decision; the opposition party is represented as being against the chiefs, and to the existing order of society. It is argued they are opposed to children obeying their parents. Stories are told of opposition members whose parents support the chiefs, but who have run away and rejected their parents. These are now vagrants - with no families, no proper place in the society, who have little responsible connection to the social and moral life of the community. It is prophesied that morality and family life as now known would be destroyed by the opposition, who

665 it is well known encourage women to join their organisation and come
641 to its meetings just like men. Finally it is always pointed out that
[186] the opposition is linked to the southern Ibo party, and that a vote for such a group, even though the local members profess Islam, is a vote against religion, and for the despised pagans.

665 In the N.A. it is an unwritten law that everyone should sup-
647 port the N.P.C., or at least not actively oppose it. Without exception, all informants in the N.A. felt that they would lose their jobs if they were to give even a hint of support to the opposition party. It is furthermore believed that the British favour the N.P.C. and discriminate
[648] against the opposition party. This view is corroborated for people by some of the British administrative officers who, because of their long association with the N.A. and the traditional power groups, are easily convinced by the N.A. officials that the opposition party is composed of malcontents and agitators who may cause trouble, the anathema of the colonial service. The result of all this is a feeling of suppression among many of the younger N.A. members, who pay lip service to the N.P.C. but secretly report their support of the opposition party.

665 This opposition party, originally the Bornu Youth League, now a part of the N.E.P.U. (Northern Elements Progressive Union)(1), is headed by a renegade Bornu aristocrat, who has a genuine desire to reform his country. The party is supported by Ibos, dissidents, and acculturated young people who feel that reforms are necessary in the political system. In the party organization itself are many Kanuri who are behaving in a traditional manner. They consider themselves the extended household organization of the party leader. Several of them re-

(1) This party is linked to the party of Dr. Azikwe in the Eastern Region.